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ABSTRACT

The relationship between the marital plans and mobility-linked attitudes (those pertaining to variables subject to upward or downward mobility) of young women in the South were investigated. Specific goals were to determine by race, the relationship between marital plans and (1) level of educational aspirations (LEA) and (2) level of occupational aspirations (LOA). The research strategy employed was to utilize repeated measurement panel data with path analytic techniques as a partial solution. Data were obtained from a 3-wave, 6-year panel of Southern youth with nonmetropolitan origins. The reduced panel size for this study was 147 single females (63 whites and 84 blacks). Some findings were: (1) stability correlations were generally stable for both races; (2) mobility-linked attitudes were generally more stable than marital plans of either race; and (3) there was no causal relationship between marital plans and LOA for either race. (Author/NQ)

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MARITAL PLANS OF WOMEN AND THE FORMATION OF MOBILITY-LINKED ATTITUDES IN THE SOUTH

A Thesis

by

SHARON KAY KIRKLIN

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December 1974

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ABSTRACT

Marital Plans of Women and the Formation of Mobility-Linked Attitudes in the South. (December 1974)

Sharon Kay Kirklin, B.A., Trinity University

Chairman of Advisory Committee: Dr. Arthur G. Cosby

The general objective of this thesis was the investigation of the relationship between the marital plans and mobility-linked attitudes of young women. In order to meet this objective, two more specific goals were formulated:

1) To determine by race the degree of the relationship between marital plans and level of educational aspirations (LEA), and

2) To determine by race the degree of the relationship between marital plans and level of occupational aspirations.

The research strategy employed was to utilize repeated measurement panal data with path analytic techniques as a partial solution.

Stability correlations are generally stable for both races. However, the attitudes of white women appeared to be more stable than those of black women, and mobility-linked attitudes were generally more stable than marital

plans of either race.

There was no causal relationship between marital plans and LOA for either race. This suggests a third variable could be causing the effects of both LOA and marital plans.

There appear to be some cross-lagged effects between the variables' marital plans and level of educational aspirations. For white women, cross-lagged effects appear after high school with a priority of 1968 marital plans over 1972 LEA's. In contrast, cross-lagged effects appear for black women in both the high school period and the period after high school. During high school, the blacks evidenced a priority of 1966 marital plans over 1968 LEA's. However, after high school this pattern was reversed when a high LOA in 1968 was correlated with a low planned age at marriage in 1972. Findings are reflective of a sex-race specificity of the variables in the models.

Limitations and suggestions for future research primarily concern the nature and size of the panel and potential measurement error.

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0006

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of the Problem	1
Alternate Explanation of the Relationship Between Mobility-Linked and Marital Plans	1
Definition of Terms	8
Occupational Choice	8
Aspirations	8
Expectations	10
Occupational Aspirations	10
Educational Aspirations	10
Occupational Expectations	10
Educational Expectations	11
Level of Aspirations	11
Level of Occupational Aspirations	11
Level of Educational Aspirations	11
Marital Plans	12
Implications of the Research	12
CHAPTER II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	14
Empirical Aspects	14
Sexual Occupational Differentiation	15
Female Occupational and Educational Attitudes	16
Female Marital Plans	18
Disparity of Women's Attitudes	19
Theoretical Aspects	20

page

Occupational Choice..... 20
Theories of Women's Occupational Choices..... 24

CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY..... 28

Source and Data Collection Procedures..... 28
Indicators of Measurement..... 30
Development of the Model..... 33

CHAPTER IV. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA..... 38

Bivariate Analysis Utilizing Contingency Tables of the Relationship Between Each Attitudinal Measure..... 39

Stability of Marital Plans..... 39

Black Women..... 39
White Women..... 41

Stability of Level of Occupational Aspirations..... 42

Black Women..... 42
White Women..... 44

Stability of Level of Educational Aspirations..... 45

Black Women..... 45
White Women..... 47

The Relationship Between Marital Plans and LOA..... 48

Black Women..... 48
White Women..... 50

The Relationship Between LOA and Marital Plans..... 51

Black Women..... 51
White Women..... 53

page

The Relationship Between Marital Plans and LEA..... 54

Black Women..... 54
White Women..... 55

Multivariate Analysis Between Each Additional Measure..... 59

Marital Plans and Level of Occupational Attitudes..... 59

Correlation Coefficients and Means..... 59
The Three Wave, Two Variable Model..... 64

Marital Plans and Level of Educational Attitudes..... 68

Correlation Coefficients and Means..... 68
The Three Wave, Two Variable Model..... 73

CHAPTER V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS..... 79

Descriptive Trends..... 79

Maintenance of High Mobility Attitudes..... 79
Trends in Marriage Plans..... 82
Marital Plans and Mobility Attitudes..... 85

The Form of Marital Plans and Mobility Attitudes..... 86

Stability of the Variables..... 86
Marital Plans and LOA..... 88
Marital Plans and LEA..... 88

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research..... 90

Nature and Size of the Panel..... 90
Potential Measurement Error..... 91

REFERENCES..... 92

VITA..... 100

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Bivariate Analysis of the Longitudinal Relationship of Marital Plans of Women by Race	40
2	Bivariate Analysis of the Longitudinal Relationship of Level of Occupational Aspirations of Women by Race	43
3	Bivariate Analysis of the Longitudinal Relationship of Level of Educational Aspirations of Women by Race	46
4	Bivariate Analysis of the Longitudinal Relationship Between Marital Plans and Level of Occupational Aspirations of Women by Race	49
5	Bivariate Analysis of the Longitudinal Relationship Between Level of Occupational Aspirations and Marital Plans of Women by Race	52
6	Bivariate Analysis of the Longitudinal Relationship Between Marital Plans and Level of Educational Aspirations of Women by Race	56
7	Bivariate Analysis of the Longitudinal Relationship Between Level of Educational Aspirations and Marital Plans of Women by Race	58
8	Matrix of Zero-Order Correlations and Means for Marital Plans and Level of Occupational Aspirations	61
9	Matrix of Zero-Order Correlations and Means for Marital Plans and Level of Educational Aspirations	69

0010

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Bayer's path diagram relating educational aspirations to aptitude, SES, and marital plans for females.....	4
2	Bayer's path diagram relating age at marriage to prior life plans, aptitude, and socioeconomic level for females.....	6
3	Path diagram showing a spurious relationship between women's marital plans and educational aspirations.....	7
4	Heise path analytic model for two variables and three waves.....	9
5	White female 3W-2V model relating marital plans and level of occupational aspirations.....	36
6	Black female 3W-2V model relating marital plans and level of occupational aspirations.....	67
7	White female 3W-2V model relating marital plans and level of educational aspirations.....	74
8	Black female 3W-2V model relating marital plans and level of educational aspirations.....	77

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Based on existing literature on differential socialization and learning, it appears that the formation of women's marital plans and mobility-linked attitudes (especially occupational and educational attitudes) and the relationship between those variables have significant consequences for the development of occupational and educational behavior and general sex roles. The objective of this research has been to investigate the form and degree of the relationships between young women's marital plans and their mobility-linked attitudes. More specifically, the research is designed to focus on the formation and dynamics of these phenomena observed in a six year panel study of Southern Youth.

Alternate Explanations of the Relationship Between Mobility-Linked and Marital Plans

Numerous studies using correlational techniques

This thesis follows the literary style of the American Sociological Review.

have indicated a relationship between marital plans and mobility-linked attitudes.[1] In general, the relationship may be described thus: as the planned age of marriage increases, the level of educational plans and the level of occupational plans will likewise tend to increase.

This general relationship has previously been supported in the research of Bayer (1969a, 1969b), Carter (1972), and Havens (1973). Unfortunately, the form of the relationship between the two variables is largely either confused or undefined. However, on the basis of the present literature, at least four plausible explanations for the correlation can be posited. First of all, marital plans may exert a "causal" influence on the mobility-linked attitudes of women (Explanation 1). That is, mobility-linked attitudes are dependent to some degree upon the formation of marital plans of women. Secondly, it may be proposed that mobility-linked attitudes exert a "causal" influence on marital plans of women (Explanation 2). That is, the marital plans of women are dependent to some degree upon the formation of mobility-linked attitudes. Thirdly, the relationship

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[1] Mobility-linked attitudes may be defined as those attitudes pertaining to variables subject to upward or downward mobility such as educational and occupational attitudes.

between marital plans and the mobility-linked attitudes of women might be spurious, resulting from the effect of a prior variable or variables (Explanation 3). No "causal" relationship exists between women's marital plans and mobility-linked attitudes; the correlation found is an artifact of previous influence. Finally, there may be a reciprocal relationship existing between marital plans and mobility-linked attitudes of women (Explanation 4). That is, each affects the other within the range of the data.

The impetus for developing this line of research results from two recent studies linking women's marital plans and mobility-linked attitudes by Bayer (1969b), and a critique of his approach by Schoenberg (1972). In the first of the Bayer studies, a path analytic model was developed, using Project Talent data, to explain the effects of aptitude, socioeconomic influence, and marital plans on educational aspirations. Bayer's first model is presented as Figure 1. In a second report that appeared in the same year, Bayer (1969a), again using Project Talent data, presented a more elaborate causal model that was designed to predict actual age at marriage of women. This time, however, he posited a flow from educational plans to marital plans. A significant

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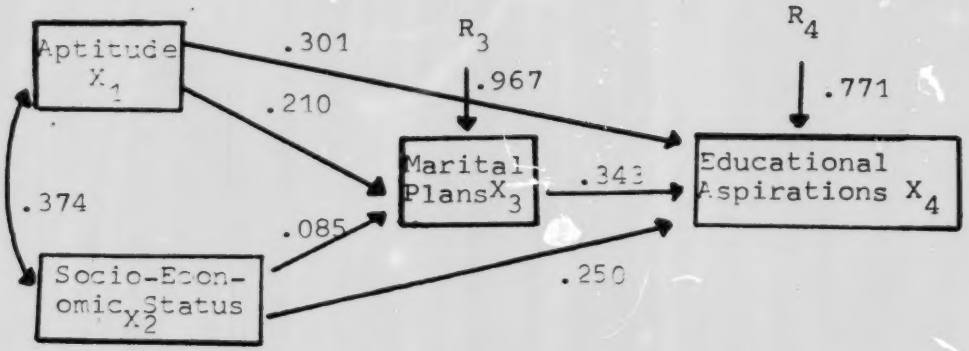
Figure 1. Bayer's path diagram relating educational aspirations to aptitude, SES, and marital plans for females.



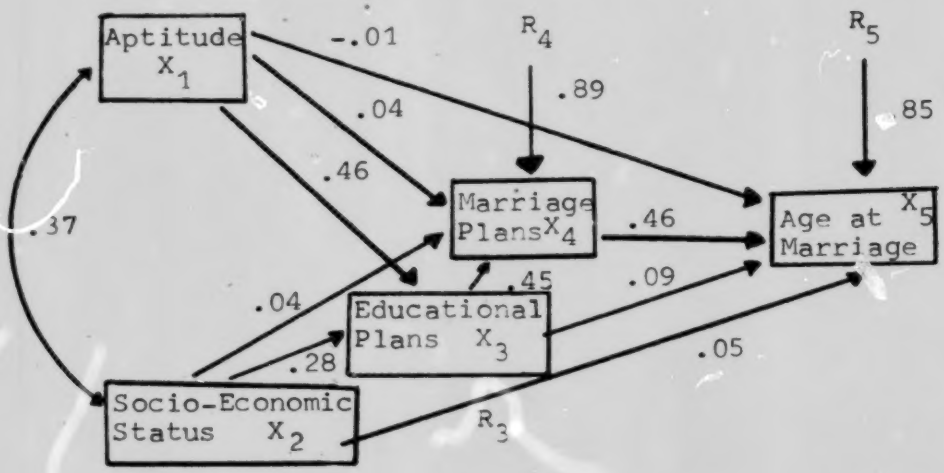
From: Bayer, Alan E. "Marriage Plans and Educational Aspirations," American Journal of Sociology (September 1969): 241.

causal effect (.45) was found between educational plans and marital plans. The model is found in Figure 2. Thus, Bayer reported two studies in the same year, utilizing essentially the same data set, but positing contradictory relationships between women's marital plans and educational attitudes. It is interesting to note that in both cases "large" causal effects were reported ("large" relative to other effects in the model). When these two findings are taken together, the actual form of the relationship between the variables becomes problematic, and a dilemma exists concerning which explanation is preferable.

To further complicate the form of the relationship, Schoenberg, in a rather extensive critique of Bayer in Sociological Methodology 1972, has pointed out numerous difficulties with the Bayer study and suggested yet another plausible explanation for the reported correlations. This third explanation was that the correlation might be spurious as a result of the effect of prior variables. This relationship corresponds to Explanation 3 above, and is modeled in Figure 3.

In addition, a fourth possible relationship may exist between the two variables. It is also possible that there is a reciprocal relationship between the

Figure 2. Bayer's path diagram relating age at marriage to prior life plans, aptitude, and socio-economic level for females.



From: Bayer, Alan E. "Life Plans and Marriage Age: An Application of Path Analysis," Journal of Marriage and the Family (August 1969): 556.

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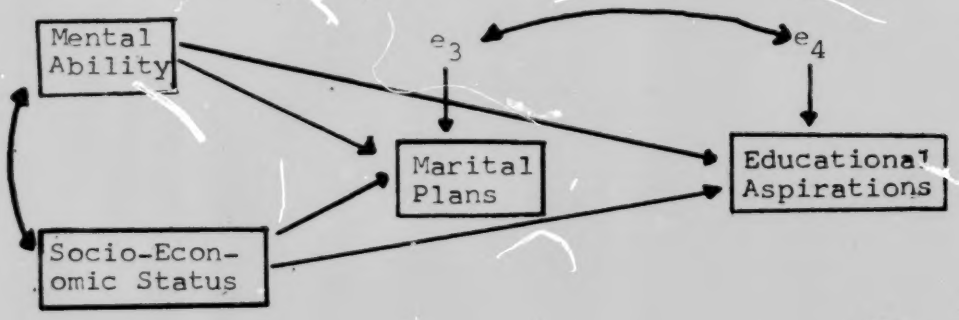
Figure 3. Path diagram showing a spurious relationship between women's marital plans and educational aspirations.



From: Ronald Schoenberg. "Strategies for Meaningful Comparison" in Herbert L. Costner's Sociological Methodology, 1972, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., p. 26.

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two variables. It is also possible that there is a reciprocal relationship between the variables. This explanation, of course, corresponds to the listed Explanation 4 above (See Figure 4). By combining these three studies of Bayer and Schoenberg, it can only be concluded that although a relationship appears to exist between women's marital plans and mobility-linked attitudes, the form is not only unknown, but also problematic in present sociological literature.

Definition of Terms

In this section, an attempt shall be made to delineate the major analytical concepts in this thesis. The conceptual framework for the major research hypotheses are stated.

Occupational choice. Occupational choice has been defined by Kuvlesky and Bealer as a psychological preference of the individual regarding work statuses (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966:267). They maintain the term is equitable to aspiration, and is only a part of the total occupational attainment process.

Aspirations. Aspirations are "a person's...orientation toward a goal" (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966:269). This special form of the concept "attitude" can be broken into three analytical elements: "(1) a person

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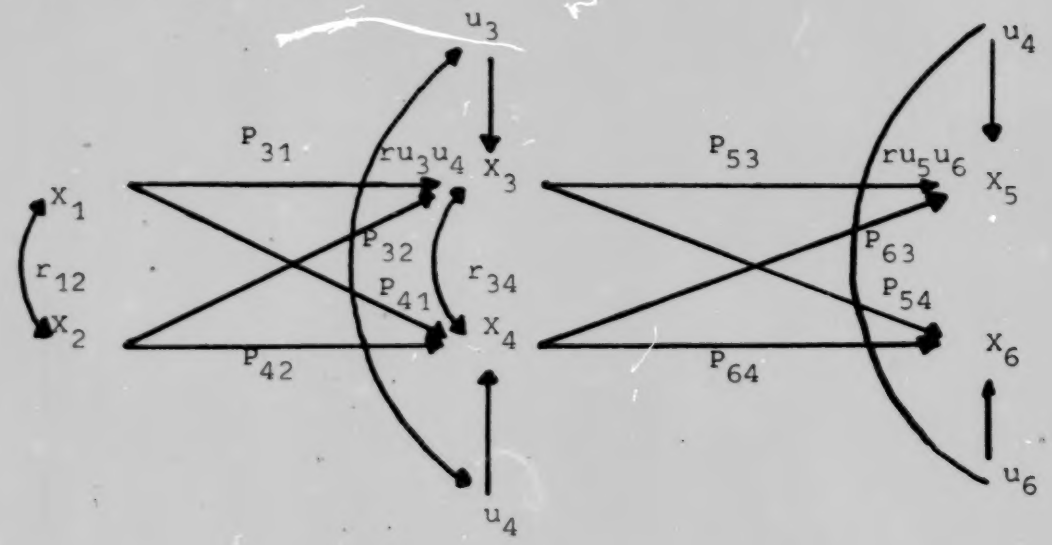
Figure 4. Heise path analytic model for two variables and three waves.



of persons, (2) wanting (having an orientation toward or about), (3) a social object (i.e., a goal)" (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966:270). Both the goal and orientation elements can vary either internally or independently of each other.

Expectations. An individual's expectation is his estimation of probable achievement pertaining to a specific goal. Expectations are not the same as aspirations because they need not be desired and considered a goal.

Occupational aspirations. This may be conceptualized as the individual's desired occupational goal. An occupational aspiration reflects the professional position that an individual most desires.

Educational aspirations. Educational aspirations may likewise be conceptualized as the individual's desired educational goal. An educational aspiration reflects the degree of education that the individual most desires.

Occupational expectations. In contrast to occupational aspirations, an occupational expectation is the occupation the individual actually expects to attain. This projection may not actually be the desired occupation of the individual; unlike occupational aspirations, the occupation involved is not necessarily a goal

(Picou, 1967:77).

Educational expectations. Similarly, educational expectations are the level of educational attainment expected by the individual. Once again, these expectations may not reflect the goals or desires of the individual since they estimate actual achievement.

Level of aspiration. The term level of aspiration signifies an individual's orientation toward a goal (Haller and Miller, 1971:7). Since an individual's goal is chosen from various alternatives, his orientation is also variable. An individual's level of orientation is determined by the central tendency in his orientation toward a particular goal.

Level of occupational aspirations. Haller and Miller (1971) have defined the level of occupational aspirations as being a special case of the generalized level of aspirations. It is distinguished from the general concept because it takes on the occupational hierarchy as its object; furthermore, the continuum of difficulty consists of various stages in that hierarchy.

Level of educational aspirations. Likewise, the level of educational aspirations (LEA) may be differentiated from the general concept solely because it focuses upon the educational hierarchy, and the continuum of

difficulties associated with LEA consist of the various levels on the educational hierarchy.

Marital plans. According to Bayer (1969a, 1969b), marital plans operationalized by the actual age at which an individual expects to marry. In his studies, it has been found that the age response concerning the individual's desired age at marriage closely coincides with that individual's actual age at marriage.

Implications of the Research

Basically, there are three implications of this research in regards to sociology and theory construction, methodology, and applications for research.

The significance of this research regarding theory construction is two-fold. First of all, this research helps in a modest manner to resolve the problem of relational specification between the variables, marital plans, level of educational aspirations, and level of occupational aspirations. Secondly, this research extends present analysis of marital plans to populations for which it is currently otherwise available. While most analyses are limited to Northern and urban populations, this research deals with a Southern, non-metropolitan, black-white population.

Methodologically, the significance of this research is in the application of the new procedure, the Heise path analytical technique. Heretofore, this technique has had limited usage. Consequently, additional experience and utility with the technique has been gained by using it in this research.

The third significant implication of this research would concern applications for future research. Here, it is discernable that the disparities and inequalities experienced by women in society are most likely related to choices available concerning their educational, occupational, and marital plans, and the manner in which they resolve such conflicts. Information leading to the understanding of these conflicts should be valuable in the understanding of inequality and possibly in developing strategies to alleviating it.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Empirical Aspects

Recently, a wide range of literature concerning women has been developing; much of this literature is associated with the development of a theory of women's occupational choice. As this literature has become more extensive, several factors have become increasingly apparent. First of all, many of these studies show a strong relationship between occupational and educational choices with the marital plans of women. Therefore, it becomes evident that a theory explaining the occupational choices of women involves more variables and relationships than would affect a theory of male occupational choice. However, major efforts toward a theory dealing with the occupational choices of women have attempted to analyze these choices utilizing the theoretical constructs developed for men (Ginzberg, 1951; 1966). The following review of literature will discuss current empirical studies revealing a relationship between marital plans and mobility-linked attitudes; furthermore, it will discuss various theoretical and hypothetical leads

which might be valuable in theory construction.

The substantive question of the relationship between marital plans and mobility-linked attitudes fits into the rest of current sociological literature which has been associated with the development of women's occupational attitudes (Epstein, 1973; Gubbles, 1973; Havens, 1973; Matthews and Tiedeman, 1964; Papanek, 1973; Sewell, 1971; and Thomas, 1971). These studies all reveal a significant relationship between marital plans and mobility-linked attitudes of females.

Sexual occupation differentiation. Epstein has theorized that "in the exchange system of American society, women's sex status...has typically cost them prestigious and renumerative jobs because society did not evaluate (women) as being high in either capacity or potential" (1971:912). Furthermore, in her analysis of sexual occupational differentiation, she has suggested

> Those (women) who did succeed had to be brighter, more talented, and more specialized than white males in a comparable labor pool, whom the society ranked higher. Thus, they paid more for the same benefits...if they were permitted to acquire them at all. (1973:912)

Occupations have become sex-typed such that males feel compelled to obtain masculine occupations to assert their virility, just as women feel compelled to accept

occupations considered "proper" for females in order to protect their feminine self-image (Gubbles, 1973:213). Consequently, marriage and motherhood are still the major goals of most women. These decisions tend to limit other goals, especially occupational ones. Traditional female occupations are domestic services, teaching elementary and secondary schools, clerical work, nursing, retail sales, factory labor, needlework, and social work (Fichter, 1973:206; Pinchbeck, 1973:28; Waldeman, 1973: 33). Finally, "regardless of occupational field they enter, women around the country and across racial lines tend to have the same distribution of work activities on the job itself" (Fichter, 1973:206).

Female occupational and educational attitudes. Today women have greater access to higher education than at any previous time in history, education which will ideally aid their employment opportunities. The American female, socialized primarily by another female, her mother, tends to reflect traditional attitudes toward education and career. Furthermore, Sewell's analysis (1971) indicated that while "women make better grades in high school than do their male cohorts, they are still seriously disadvantaged relative to men in levels of teachers' and parents' encouragement and in their own

levels of educational aspirations" (1971:800). He has further stated that women have lower chances to obtain additional schooling, college attendance or graduation, or of attending graduate or professional schools than do males (1971:796). He hypothesizes the major sources of these lower attainment rates of women are to be found in the period immediately following high school completion because "the effects of socialization in the family and in the school are easily manifest in women's levels of school performance, of significant other's influence, and of aspiration" (1971:796). Sewell concludes that

> a narrow sex-role training that stresses household and family roles for women over educational and occupational opportunities -- and which becomes most salient when young women for the first time face the realities of discrimination in higher education and the job market -- plays a major part in depressing the women's post-secondary educational attainments. (1971:804)

Thomas has hypothesized that among white females "the girls appear to have internalized the achievement orientation which so conspicuously characterizes American society...without abandoning the normative prescription that females marry, have children, and devote themselves to the mother role" (1971:24). She has indicated that white females may not utilize their education to obtain an occupation; instead, white females tend to use their education to obtain a husband during college years, and

thereafter follow the traditional female roles of wife and mother. Papanek has theorized that a woman may accomplish vicarious achievement "through the husband's job in a special combination of roles which (she calls) the 'two-person single career'" (1971:822). Female participation in such a career may deter the wife from pursuit of a full-fledged career for herself. In fact, she may be discouraged from a career by both her husband and his employer who may feel that her participation in a career would hurt her husband socially. In contrast to patterns of white females, black females expect to utilize their education professionally (Epstein, 1973).

Female marital plans. Matthews and Tiedeman have hypothesized that the developmental effect of attitudes toward a career and marriage upon life styles occur as a person ages (1964:375). These marital plans of an individual are best measured by directly asking the individual at what age she intends to marry (Bayer, 1969a: 558).

The level of female nonmarriage in a given status category increases with income. Havens asserts that the occupational status of working women can be analyzed as a variable affecting differential levels of marriage for women, if the economic rewards associated with a given occupation are viewed as elements of status (1973:977).

Haven's explanation of this phenomenon hypothesizes that "the higher the economic achievement of females, the less their desire to accept the confining traditional familial sex role" (1973:980). Furthermore, Carter has theorized that the marital status of a woman has a negative effect upon her occupational status (1972:2). She suggests that non-married women are more likely than married women to have occupations ranking highly in occupational status. Conversely, married men have higher occupational statuses than non-married men (Carter, 1972:2-3).

Disparity of women's attitudes. Matthews and Tiedeman have discussed four disparities of women's attitudes toward marriage, education, and occupation (1964: 382-383). First of all, the female's perception of male attitudes toward her intelligence may cause the marriage-minded female not to pursue her desired career, or to foresake it for the security of marriage. A second disparity occurs in the traditional attitudes that women are qualified only to be homemakers, while men should hold the dominant position of breadwinner in the family. A third disparity arises in the "conflict between acceptance of the role of wife and mother and acceptance of a feminine career" (1964:382). Fourth, women's attitudes toward desired age at marriage conflicts with the purpose and

desire of college education.

Theoretical Aspects

While sociologists have been interested in the area of social mobility, education, and occupations for many years, a relatively small proportion of the literature focused upon women. Consequently, it is necessary to delineate the nature of past theory, including that pertaining to males, in order to understand the degree of limitations involved in studies of occupational choices of women.

Occupational Choice

There are two basic approaches to the study of occupational choice: the adventitious and the developmental.

> The adventitious approach is characterized by a kind of choice factor in which the individual more or less "lucks into" an occupation without any real rational thought about it. In contrast to this, the developmental approach is analogous to the maturation process. (Falk and Cosby, 1974:1)

In 1951, Ginzberg theorized three stages in the development of occupational choice, the fantasy stage, the tentative stage, and the realistic stage. Ginzberg assumed that an individual will consider many possible

occupational choices over the years; therefore, occupational choice and eventual attainment may be considered a process which begins in childhood and continues into adulthood. "Occupational attainment is thus a product of prior influences as well as current circumstances. The importance of differential socialization of roles is contained within this framework" (Falk and Cosby, 1974:2).

The general approach of studies on the development of occupational choice may be briefly summarized. First of all, occupational choice may be viewed as a process and therefore be treated in a developmental framework. The choice process begins early in the development of a child, continuing into adulthood. Therefore, occupational choice must be viewed as a product of both prior and present influences (Ginzberg, 1951). Secondly, the importance of differential socialization in the formation of the occupational role of the child is stressed. The manner in which the child is socialized in the family will primarily determine that individual's idea of acceptable occupational goals and roles. Socialization is effected in schools, peer groups, among family members, and in work. Also, various stages in the process of occupational choice may be distinguished such that

the "quality of the choice varies according to the st[illegible] of the development" (Cosby and Legere, 1971:12). Ginzberg has discussed the pre-adolescent fantasy stage, the tentative stage of adolescence, and early adulthood (Ginzerg, 1951). As the child moves from stage to stage in this choice process, his occupational choices will become more focussed, frequently the range of acceptable occupations narrows, and the individual's personal commitment to a particular occupational goal may increase.

Different types of choice can be delineated at various phases in the choice process. At least two dimensions of choice can be distinguished although there is a considerable lack of agreement on appropriate terminology and conceptual differences. First of all, there are occupational aspirations which indicate an individual's wishes or desires concerning his life's work. Secondly, there are occupational expectations which indicate the individual's expectation or anticipation of entrance into a given career for his life's work (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966).

During the pre-adolescent years, a child selects occupations which are perceived as being pleasurable. These choices are usually variable, high in status, and unrealistic in terms of actual career attainment later.

In addition, the career choices made during this period are "goal centered"; they show little or no concern for the means required to acquire a given occupation (Ginzberg, 1951). During adolescent years, career choices become more tentative. Both the type and range of aspired and expected occupations are greatly delineated. During this period, the individual becomes concerned with the means essential to the obtention of specific occupational goals. As the individual considers necessary means of obtaining occupational choices, obstacles are perceived which may limit or obstruct the earlier "goal-centered" choices. If the individual believes the obstacles are severe, occupational choices will be lowered. Also, "the severity of blockage should vary according to actual occupational disparity in the social situation" (Cosby and Legere, 1971:13).

One group of potential limitations is referred to as structural disparities. These are possible blocks of which the student must become aware of the disparity and view it as limiting his occupational chances.

The developmental approach suffers from at least two serious deficiencies. First of all, this approach was originally constructed in reference to the development of male's occupational choice. Ginzberg applied it later to females, giving the impression that this application

was an afterthought (1966). Consequently, the process has been inadequately explicated for the feminine aspects of occupational choice. Secondly, Ginzberg's developmental framework possesses an underlying construct of increasing realism of choice; unfortunately, however, this construct is both conceptually and operationally difficult to apply.

Theories of Women's Occupational Choices

Since theories of occupational choice have typically been oriented toward male development, it should prove useful to review some conceptualizations concerning the special problems of women. However, these conceptualizations are at a different level of sophistication than are the general theories of occupational attainment dealing with the occupational choices of males.

As previously discussed, Matthews and Tiedeman (1964) have suggested four conflicts that a woman may experience in her development that are not generally characteristic of males. It may be inferred from the Matthews and Tiedeman hypothesis that a woman is socialized such that she will develop conflicting attitudes of success: the success of the traditional wife-mother role versus the occupational-educational role. According to Falk and Cosby, the resolution of this conflict is viewed as a

primary focus in the analysis of the career decisions of women (1974:7).

George Psathas (1968) has provided an outstanding theoretical perspective on occupational choice of women. Psathas acknowledges the importance of a developmental perspective which considers both the various stages of development and the dynamics within each stage. For Psathas, primary importance is placed upon the relationship between occupational roles and sex roles since these are relevant within the developmental framework of his theoretical perspective. However, Psathas does not actually delineate a theory of women's occupational choices; instead, he suggests certain variables which effect the occupational choice process for women. These variables include the marital plans of women, fertility aspirations, family financial situation, presence of brothers who may gain deferential financial support for college education, parental socio-economic status, and the desire of a woman for a working career versus the traditional role of wife and mother.

Not only do females have the special problems of attitude conflicts and occupational sex-typing, there is also empirical evidence to indicate that women receive less encouragement from others to attain higher levels of education (Sewell, 1971). In Sewell's research on status

attainment, the influence of significant others has been found to be an important factor intervening in the transmission of parental status to their children.

Furthermore, it may be expected that many of the behaviors of young women may also provide difficulties in attainment not experienced by males. Other than the obvious economic difficulties of early marriage and child bearing, it could also be suggested that the husband's encouragement not to work may have a negative influence on the wife's attainment. As was previously mentioned, Papanek (1970) hypothesizes that a wife may be discouraged from a career by both her husband and his employer who feel that her participation in a career would harm her husband both professionally and socially.

In summary, it would appear that the general theories of development and attainment have proven deficient as models for understanding women's occupational, educational, and marital plans. These theories manifest a strong male bias and tend to ignore problems which are peculiar to women. Four basic axioms can be detailed that are sexually unique to females and generally result in a disparity in the development process. First, at the earliest stage in development, a female is socialized primarily by another female. This female is usually her mother who generally maintains traditional views of what

constitutes appropriate educational and occupational goals. Secondly, American society tends to sex-type occupations such that pressures exist for women to express femininity through the choice of certain occupations which are restricted in range and status, unlike the wide range of career positions available to males. Third, during adolescence the young woman experiences serious attitudinal conflict between notions of success defined in terms of educational and occupational goals versus marriage and motherhood, and fourth, influence from others including parents, teachers, peers, husbands, and the husband's employer tend to encourage women to accept the marriage-motherhood roles and to sacrifice further educational and occupational goals.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Source and Data Collection Procedures

The data for analysis were obtained from a three-wave, six year panel study of Southern youth with non-metropolitan origins. This study (S-81)[1] includes comparable data on individuals interviewed at three different times from the states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas. Wave I data were originally collected in 1966-1967 when the subjects were high school sophomores. Wave II data were collected two years later when the majority of the youth in the panel were in their senior year in high school. Additional information was collected in Wave III during the summer and fall of 1972 when most of the subjects were four years beyond their expected date of high school graduation. The resulting panel consisted of a total of 1,228 respondents, with a subset of 528 females. In this analysis, only single females are

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[1] A project of the USDA (CSRS), entitled "Development of Human Resource Potentials of Rural Youth in the South and Their Patterns of Mobility."

utilized.[2]

Two subsets of the three-wave, six year data set design are unavailable. Wave I data was not collected in Louisiana and Wave II data was not obtained in Mississippi. Therefore, the data subsets from these two states have been deleted from the present study. Consequently, the subsets of single females from Texas, Alabama, South Carolina and Georgia are 84 blacks and 63 whites.[3]

The major method of data collection for the Wave I interviews was group-administered interviews; these questionnaires were administered to purposely selected non-metropolitan schools,[4] and possessed high proportions of Blacks and low-income families. Wave II data was likewise collected through the administration of questionnaires to groups of students. Wave III information

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[2]Since the concept of marital plans implies a future occurrence, it seemed implausible to include married women. After all, it is poor logic to assume that an individual's achievement reflects his idealized goals (in this case, marital plans).

[3]Of the original 528 females in the panel 172 were from Louisiana, 172 from Mississippi, and 156 were married. Thus, the reduced panel size for this study was 147 females, with 63 whites and 84 blacks.

[4]Non-metropolitan is used to refer to communities with less than 100,000 population.

was primarily obtained from a stratified sample of the respondents by personal interview;[5] however, mailed questionnaires and telephone interviews were used to recontact a portion of the panel. Panel attrition appeared to be associated with high school drop-outs and migration at Wave II (the data collection which occurred during the estimated senior year of high school), and due to out-of-state migration and military service in Wave III (the post-high school period).[6]

Indicators of Measurement

A common set of questions were utilized in the various interviews in each of the waves and across states. This repeated measurement of variables focussed on the youth's orientation toward such critical life areas as occupational plans, educational plans, residential attitudes, and marital plans. Thus, the study has the potential for the analysis of the stability and

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[5]The sample was stratified 50:50 by race and 60:40 by sex (See Carolyn Delores White, 1974, forthcoming).

[6]There is no statistical evidence to support this assertion; it appears to be subjective opinion of the interviewers (See Carolyn Delores White, 1974, forthcoming).

mutual dependence, over time, of these variables.[7]

Of primary interest were the repeated measurements of women's occupational aspirations and expectations, educational aspirations and expectations, and marital plans. Measures of these variables were obtained at each of the three waves. To determine the women's occupational aspirations, the respondents were asked, "If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you desire most as a lifetime job?" The open-ended responses were coded and evaluated by the Blau-Duncan SEI Scale. Women's occupational expectations were determined by the question, "Sometimes we are not always able to do what we want most. What kind of job do you really expect to have most of your life?" Answers were coded and evaluated as they were for occupational aspirations. However, the major operationalization of an occupational attitude to be utilized for evaluative purposes in this thesis will be the Level of Occupational Aspirations (LOA), a variable which consists of the mean of the scores of occupational aspirations and expectations. The variable Level of Occupational Aspirations approximates Haller and Miller's LOA as discussed in the book,

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[7]The Southern Youth Study was not designed for this particular research; however, it is amenable to such a test.

The Occupational Aspiration Scale (1971). The formula for this operationalization may be written as follows:

$$LOA = \frac{\text{Blau-Duncan score of occupational aspirations} + \text{Blau-Duncan score of occupational expectations}}{2}$$

To determine educational aspirations, each respondent was asked, "If you could have as much education as you desired, which would you do?" This question was followed by the following series of structured responses:

1. Quit school right now.
2. Complete high school.
3. Complete a business, commercial, electronics, or some other technical program after finishing high school.
4. Graduate from a junior college (2 years).
5. Graduate from a college or university.
6. Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

The subjects were then asked, "What do you really expect to do about your education?" The answers to this question were structured like those for the question concerning educational aspirations. This operationalization of the variable, educational expectations, is consistent both with Bayer's measurement and with the conceptual distinction between aspirations and expectations developed by Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966). Here again, however, the major operationalization of educational attitudes in the Level of Educational Aspirations. (LEA).

This newly created variable is the mean measurement of the composite educational aspirations and expectations, and may be formulized as:

$$LEA = \frac{\text{educational aspirations} + \text{educational expectations}}{2}$$

Finally, women's marital plans were defined as the respondents' orientation toward a definite age at marriage and was operationalized as the actual age response to the question, "At what age would you like to get married?" This measurement was also largely in agreement with the procedures used by Bayer (1969a, 1969b).

Development of the Model

As should be recalled, the objective of this research was to investigate and specify the form and degree of the relationship between marital plans and mobility-linked attitudes. It was felt that the utilization of multi-wave, repeated measurement data with path analytic procedures would provide superior information to certain critical issues of form. More specifically, repeated measurement (longitudinal) panel data in comparison to cross-sectional surveys in the analysis of questions of directionality, stability and mutual dependence.

The basic modeling technique applied was the path

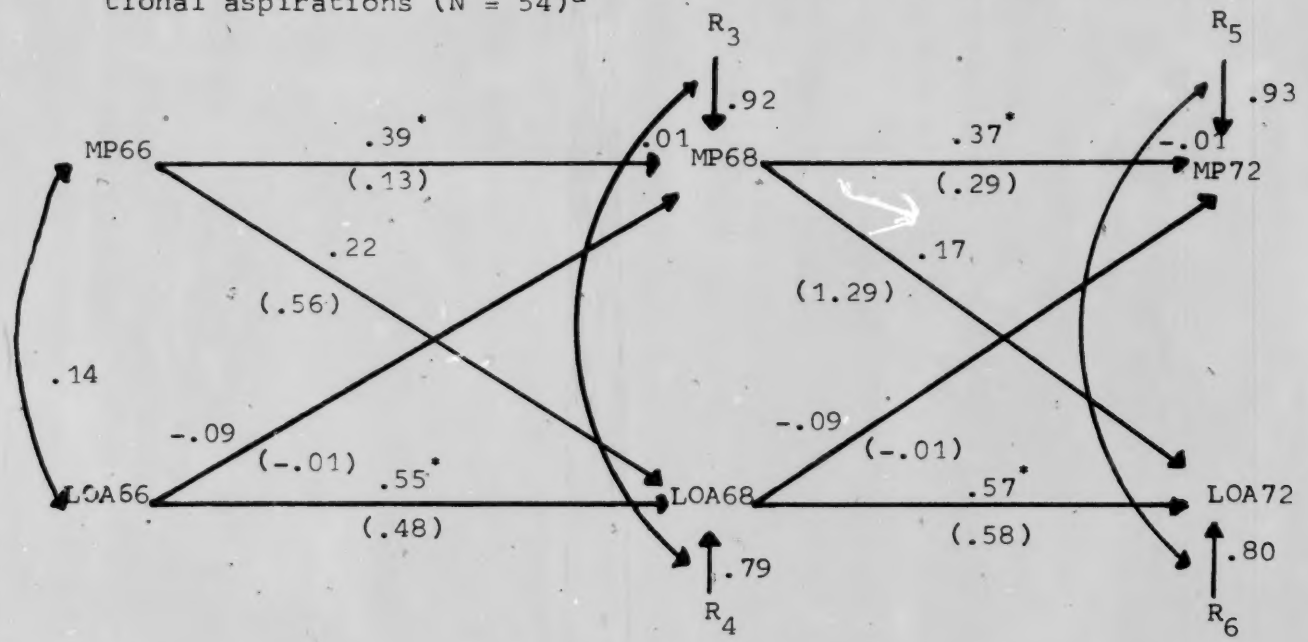
analytic method developed by Heise (1970). The Heise path-panel technique was developed to deal with the problems of stability and cross-lagged effects in two-wave, two-variable designs. The method is an extension of the cross-lagged correlation technique (Pelz and Andrews, 1964) and has been evaluated with simulated data (Pelz and Lew, 1970). Empirical applications of this technique can be found in papers by Falk and Cosby (1974) and Cosby and Ohlendorf (1973).

Following the Heise approach, our model treats the same variable observed at different waves as hypothetically different variables (this general approach is graphically represented in Figure 4, p. 9). The x-odd variables (X_1, X_3, X_5) refer to marital plans, and the x-even variables (X_2, X_4, X_6) to educational expectations. Using this arrangement, the three-wave, two-variable models resulted in a model with four hypothetical variables. It was obvious and theoretically desirable that all possible paths in this model could not be computed (See Heise, 1969; and Heise, 1970). Fortunately, however, the introduction of a set of assumptions, discussed in some detail by Heise, which are isomorphic with the notion of causation in time-ordered date, allowed a theoretically agreeable solution. First, the assumption of temporal assymetry of effects was made so

that later states of a variable could not influence earlier states. Thus, it was assumed that educational expectation levels in Wave II did not affect levels of the variables in Wave I. The application of this assumption eliminated the following twelve paths: ($X_6 \rightarrow X_{1,2,3,4}$; $X_5 \rightarrow X_{1,2,3,4}$; $X_4 \rightarrow X_{1,2}$; $X_3 \rightarrow X_{1,2}$). Second, it was assumed that effects did not occur instantaneously but instead after some finite period of time. Consequently, it was assumed that marital plans and educational expectations measured in the same wave did not affect each other but instead that effects were cross-lagged across waves. The generalization of this assumption resulted in the deletion of six additional paths ($X_1 \rightarrow X_2$; $X_2 \rightarrow X_1$; $X_3 \rightarrow X_4$; $X_4 \rightarrow X_3$; $X_5 \rightarrow X_6$; $X_6 \rightarrow X_5$).

The paths in this three-wave, two-variable model (Figure 4, p. 9) lead to two types of interpretation. First, one set of paths are interpreted as estimates of the consistency or stability of each type variable between waves. For example, paths from x-odd to x-odd variables for Figure 5 are estimates of the consistency or stability of marital plans, and paths from x-even to x-even variables are estimates of the consistency or stability of the level of educational aspirations.

Figure 5. White female 3W-2V model relating marital plans and level of occupational aspirations (N = 54)[a]



[a]The coefficients reported along the primary paths are standardized path coefficients above the arrows and unstandardized path coefficeints in parentheses below the arrows; asterisks indicate that the significant correlation is at least twice its standard error.

0047

Second, the paths from x-odd to x-even variables and x-even to x-odd variables are interpreted as estimates of the cross-lagged effects. Thus, the paths in the model from marital plans to educational expectations (x-odd to x-even) and from the level of educational aspirations to marital plans (x-even to x-odd) are estimates of various cross-lagged effects between the variables. These interpretations of estimates agree with the Heise model (1970) and with the earlier work on cross-lagged correlations by Pelz and Andrews (1964).

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The analysis of data has been prepared in two major sections. The first of these involves a series of selected bivariate analysis of relationships between the key variables of marital plans, occupational attitudes and educational attitudes of females. The intent of this section is primarily descriptive in that simple bivariate relationships are presented in tabular form without statistical lists of significance. This description focusses on the stability of attitudes over time and the relationship between attitudes over time by racial groupings. The purpose of this section is to provide familiarity with the data prior to the utilization of more involved and complex multivariate analysis. Also, the contingency tables allow for a presentation of the data in a form comparable to most extant research on the problem.[1]

The second major section of the report involves the

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[1]However, a note of caution should be introduced. Cell sizes are often of very small magnitude, with many cells being less than ten in number. These small cell sizes are reported for descriptive purposes, and interpretation of computed percentages should be made with the same cell size in mind.

application of multivariate procedures, with tests of significance, to the problems of stability and mutual dependency between attitudes. Path analytic techniques in the form of Heise's cross-lag models are applied alternately to: (1) marital plans and level of occupational aspirations and (2) marital plans and level of educational aspiration.

Bivariate Analysis Utilizing Contingency Tables of the Relationship Between Each Additional Measure

Stability of Marital Plans.

Black Women. An examination of Table 1 indicates that there was a considerable degree of stability in black women's marital plans between the sophomore and senior interviews. A slight majority of these women tended to report the same planned age at marriage at both Wave I and Wave II. For example, 63% of the black women who had planned to marry at an age of 20 or earlier in 1966 reported similar early planned marital ages in 1968. Also, 54% of those who planned to marry between 21 and 23 years of age in Wave I reported likewise in Wave II, and 47% of those who planned to marry at 24 years of age or later in Wave I indicated similar

Table 1. Bivariage Analysis of the Longitudinal Relationship of Marital Plans of Women by Race

	MP66											
	18-20				21-23				24+			
MP68	Black		White		Black		White		Black		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
18-20	63	(5)	36	(5)	15	(4)	20	(7)	11	(4)	10	(1)
21-23	25	(2)	57	(8)	54	(14)	71	(25)	42	(15)	60	(6)
24+	13	(1)	7	(1)	31	(8)	9	(3)	47	(17)	30	(3)
missing	Black = 14				White = 4				N = 147			

	MP68											
	18-20				21-23				24+			
MP72	Black		White		Black		White		Black		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
18-20	00	(0)	00	(0)	16	(5)	00	(0)	3	(1)	00	(0)
21-23	39	(5)	82	(9)	19	(6)	41	(15)	14	(4)	14	(1)
24+	62	(8)	18	(2)	65	(10)	60	(22)	83	(24)	86	(6)
missing	Black = 8				White = 8				N = 147			

0051

plans in Wave II.

In addition to the previously mentioned pattern of stability, there was a tendency for women to plan older ages at marriage. For example, the majority (62%) of those who planned to marry between the ages of 21 and 23 in the senior interviews had raised their planned age at marriage to 24 years of age or older by Wave III. This second pattern is partially an artifact of the nature of the panel. It should be recalled that as the transition between Wave II and Wave III was occurring, the respondents are moving into or are past the age categories specified earlier as the planned age at marriage. This would partially explain the shift to older planned ages at marriage.

White Women. For white women, a noticeably different pattern was observed in the changes of marital plans between the high school sophomore and senior interviews (see Table 1, p. 40). First, there was a strong tendency at both interview periods for white women to select the middle category of 21 to 23 years of age. Furthermore, in the transition from sophomore to senior marital plans, there appears to be some clumping behavior. That is, there was a tendency for those who had planned to marry relatively early or relatively late to shift to the middle category of 21 to 23.

Stability of Level of Occupational Aspirations.

Black Women. For purposes of tabular analysis, Duncan SEI scores for level of occupational aspirations were categorized as low (0 to 25), low-medium (26-50), high-medium (51-75), and high (76-100). There was a noticeable tendency to report LOA's in the high-medium occupational range at both the sophomore and senior contacts (See Table 2). The main divergence from this pattern was that 40% of the respondents who had indicated low levels of occupational aspirations in 1966 likewise indicated low LOA's in 1968. Furthermore, the highest stability category was among those who consistently reported high-medium responses at both waves. Also, it can be observed that there was a tendency for those respondents who either scored in the low or high occupational categories to maintain those levels. An examination of Table 2 reveals that of those black women who had low LOA's in 1966, none had high LOA's in 1968. Similarly, none of the women having high LOA's in 1968 expressed either low or low-medium choices in 1968.

Of those women who gave the same responses in both 1968 and 1972, 48% aspired to low-medium range occupations at both times, and 58% aspired to occupations in the high-medium range at both times. Divergencies occurred

Table 2. Bivariate Analysis of the Longitudinal Relationship of Level of Occupational Aspirations of Women by Race

LOA66

	0-25				26-50				51-75				76-100			
	Black		White		Black		White		Black		White		Black		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
0-25	40	(4)	25	(1)	9	(3)	17	(2)	4	(1)	00	(0)	00	(0)	00	(0)
26-50	30	(3)	50	(2)	44	(15)	58	(7)	19	(5)	25	(10)	00	(0)	00	(0)
51-75	30	(3)	25	(1)	48	(16)	25	(3)	78	(21)	70	(28)	64	(7)	43	(3)
76-100	00	(0)	00	(0)	00	(0)	00	(0)	00	(0)	5	(2)	36	(4)	57	(4)
missing					Black = 2						White = 0				N = 147	

LOA68

LOA72	0-25				26-50				51-75				76-100			
	Black		White		Black		White		Black		White		Black		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
0-25	13	(1)	50	(1)	24	(5)	6	(1)	2	(1)	3	(1)	25	(1)	00	(0)
26-50	63	(5)	50	(1)	48	(10)	44	(8)	30	(15)	14	(5)	00	(0)	00	(0)
51-75	25	(2)	00	(0)	29	(6)	50	(9)	58	(29)	74	(26)	50	(2)	83	(5)
76-100	00	(0)	00	(0)	00	(0)	00	(0)	10	(5)	9	(3)	25	(1)	17	(1)
missing					Black = 1						White = 2				N = 147	

0054

at either extreme and tended to shift toward the middle ranges. Thus, 63% of the respondents who had very low 1968 scores had raised their LOA's by 1972 to the low-medium range. Likewise, 50% of the respondents who had high LOA's in 1968 had lowered their LOA's slightly by 1972 (lowered to the high-medium range of 51 to 75).

White women. The majority of single white women tended to maintain their levels of occupational aspirations between the 1966 sophomore and 1968 senior interviews. This, also, is shown in Table 2 (p. 43). For example, 58% of the women aspired to low-medium range LOA's both in 1966 and 1968, 70% aspired to high-medium LOA's at both contacts, and 57% aspired to high LOA's at the sophomore and the senior waves. The primary divergence from this pattern existed among those subjects who had originally aspired to low LOA's and had raised their LOA's to the low-medium range LOA category; in fact, 50% of the respondents had raised their LOA's during that period.

Between 1968 and 1972, occupational aspirations tended to level off at the high-medium LOA range. Thus, 50% of those respondents indicating LOA's in the low-medium category in 1968 raised their LOA's to the high-medium range by 1972, 74% of the women who had chosen high-medium LOA's in 1968 again indicated high-medium

range choices in 1972, and 83% of the women who had aspired to high range LOA's in 1968 lowered their choices to the upper-middle LOA category by 1972. The main divergence occurred when low range LOA's were consistently selected at both Wave II and Wave III by 50% of the respondents.

Stability of Level of Educational Aspirations.

Black Women. For purposes of tabular analysis, LEA scores were categorized as high school completion or less (0.0 to 2.0), completion of technical schooling or junior college (2.1 to 4.0), and college completion with or without additional graduate studies (4.1 to 6.0). The majority of black women tended to maintain their LEA's between 1966 and 1968 (See Table 3). Of those women aspiring to the low level of educational aspirations in 1966, 50% maintained those aspirations for only high school completion or less education in 1968.[2] Likewise, 67% of those respondents aspiring to the completion of technical schooling or junior college in 1966 maintained their LEA's between sophomore and senior waves, and 73.2% of

[2]However, 50% also shifted their LEA upward to the middle range, supporting the pattern established by blacks during the Wave II-to-Wave III period, and for white females at all periods.

Table 3. Bivariate Analysis of the Longitudinal Relationship of Level of Educational Aspirations of Women by Race

LEA66

LEA68	0.0 - 2.0				2.1 - 4.0				4.1 - 6.0			
	Black		White		Black		White		Black		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
0.0 - 2.0	50	(2)	13	(1)	1	(3)	10	(3)	5	(2)	00	(0)
2.1 - 4.0	50	(2)	88	(7)	67	(26)	66	(19)	22	(9)	12	(3)
4.1 - 6.0	00	(0)	00	(0)	26	(10)	24	(7)	73	(30)	89	(23)
missing			Black = 0				White = 0				N = 147	

LEA68

LEA72	0.0 - 2.0				2.1 - 4.0				4.1 - 6.0			
	Black		White		Black		White		Black		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
0.0 - 2.0	00	(0)	25	(1)	5	(2)	3	(1)	00	(0)	00	(0)
2.0 - 4.0	86	(6)	75	(3)	51	(19)	62	(18)	28	(11)	7	(2)
4.1 - 6.0	14	(1)	00	(0)	43	(16)	35	(10)	73	(29)	94	(28)
missing			Black = 8				White = 8				N = 147	

0057

the black women aspiring to graduation from a college or university and possibly graduate studies maintained their high LEA's between those periods.

Between 1968 and 1972, this pattern was generally maintained. The 1968 LEA's for the completion of technical schooling or junior college were maintained by 51% of the respondents in 1972, and the 1968 LEA responses in the college graduate or higher level were maintained over time by 73% of the respondents. The main divergence from this pattern found between Wave II and Wave III is the change from low 1968 educational aspirations for high school completion or less to aspirations for graduation from technical schooling or junior college in 1972 by 86% of the respondents.

White Women. The pattern for white women was identical to the 1968 to 1972 pattern for black women (See Table 3, p. 46). Once again, between 1966 and 1968 the women maintained their aspirations for graduation from technical school, junior college, a college or university, or post-graduate studies. Low 1966 LEA's indicating a desire for high school graduation or less raised to a desire for graduation from technical schooling or junior college by 1968. Thus, 66% of the white women maintained their sophomore LEA for graduation from a technical school or junior college into their senior year, and 86%

maintained LEA's for graduation from a college or university or more schooling over time. The main divergence shown occurred when sophomore LEA's for high school graduation or less shifted upward to graduation from technical schooling or a junior college for 88% of the respondents.

Between 1968 and 1972, this pattern was again repeated. Levels of educational aspirations of high school education or less schooling for 1968 shifted upward to graduation from a technical school or junior college in 1972 for 75% of the respondents. Finally, 62% of the women aspiring to graduation from technical schooling or junior college in 1968 maintained their LEA's in 1972, and LEA's for college graduation or more school were overwhelmingly maintained for 93% of the women between 1968 and 1972.

The Relationship Between Marital Plans and Level of Occupational Aspirations.

Black Women. Between the sophomore and senior years, black single women maintained levels of occupational aspirations in the high-medium range regardless of planned age at marriage (See Table 4). Between 1966 and 1968, 42% of the women desiring to marry between the ages of 18 and 20 desired high-medium range LOA's. Of those

Table 4. Bivariate Analysis of the Longitudinal Relationship Between Marital Plans and Level of Occupational Aspirations of Women by Race

MP66

LOA68	18-20				21-23				24+			
	Black		White		Black		White		Black		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
0-25	17	(2)	7	(1)	7	(2)	3	(1)	8	(3)	00	(0)
26-50	42	(5)	36	(5)	36	(10)	19	(7)	17	(6)	17	(2)
51-75	42	(5)	43	(6)	50	(14)	58	(21)	61	(22)	33	(4)
76-100	00	(0)	14	(2)	7	(2)	19	(7)	14	(5)	50	(6)
missing			Black = 8				White = 1				N = 147	

MP68

LOA72	18-20				21-23				24+			
	Black		White		Black		White		Black		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
0-25	24	(3)	00	(0)	6	(2)	5	(2)	00	(0)	00	(0)
26-50	31	(4)	15	(2)	25	(8)	28	(11)	42	(13)	13	(1)
51-75	39	(5)	62	(8)	56	(18)	56	(22)	52	(16)	63	(5)
76-100	8	(1)	24	(3)	13	(4)	10	(4)	7	(2)	25	(2)
missing			Black = 8				White = 3				N = 147	

0060

women planning to marry between the ages of 21 and 23 in 1966, 50% desired high-medium LEA's; likewise, of those planning to marry at age 24 or later, 61% aspired to high-medium LEA's for these periods.

This pattern was repeated between Wave II and Wave III. Here, 39% of the respondents planning to marry between the ages of 18 and 20 aspired to high-medium LEA's, as did 56% of the women planning to marry between 21 and 23, and 52% of the women planning to marry at age 24 or older.

White women. Between 1966 and 1968 the white single women revealed a pattern quite similar to that of the black women (See Table 4, p. 49). Of the women desiring early marriages between the ages of 18 and 20, 43% aspired to occupations at the high-medium level; furthermore, 58% of those women planning to marry between the ages of 21 and 23 aspired to high-medium LEA's. The main divergence from the pattern for black females is that 50% of the white women planning to marry at age 24 or older indicated aspirations in the high occupational range. This may indicate that white women aspiring to higher LOA's place a lower priority upon early marriage.

Between 1968 and 1972, the white women again repeated the pattern for black women. Regardless of planned age at marriage LOA's were consistently in the high-medium

range. Thus, 62% of those women planning to marry between 18 and 20 also aspired to high-medium level occupations, as did 56% of the women planning marriages between the ages of 21 and 23, and 63% of the women planning to marry at age 24 or older.

The Relationship Between the Level of Occupational Aspirations and Marital Plans.

Black Women. Between 1966 and 1968, there is no clearly discernible pattern indicating a stable relationship between the variables. This is shown in Table 5. For instance, 50% of the women aspiring to low level occupations planned to marry at age 24 or later; similarly, 41% of the women aspiring to low-medium range LOA's planned to marry at 24 years of age or older. However, 46% of the women aspiring to high-medium LOA's planned to marry between 21 and 23, as did 55% of the women desiring high LOA's.

Between 1968 and 1972, a pattern did begin to emerge. With the exception of the high range of levels of occupational aspirations, the majority of black women indicated that they planned to marry at age 24 or later regardless of their LOA. Thus, 100% of the women aspiring to low LOA's in 1968 planned to marry at age 24 or later in 1972, as did 75% of those aspiring to low-medium range

Table 5. Bivariate Analysis of the Longitudinal Relationship Between Level of Occupational Aspirations and Marital Plans of Women by Race

LOA66

	0-25				26-50				51-75				76-100			
MP68	Black		White		Black		White		Black		White		Black		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
18-20	.167	(1)	.250	(1)	.219	(1)	.333	(4)	.115	(3)	.216	(8)	.091	(1)	.000	(0)
21-23	.333	(2)	.750	(3)	.375	(12)	.333	(4)	.462	(12)	.730	(27)	.545	(6)	.714	(5)
24+	.500	(3)	.000	(0)	.406	(13)	.333	(4)	.423	(11)	.054	(2)	.364	(4)	.286	(2)
missing			Black = 11						White = 3						N = 147	

LOA68

	0-25				26-50				51-75				76-100			
MP72	Black		White		Black		White		Black		White		Black		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
18-20	.000	(0)	.000	(0)	.000	(0)	.000	(0)	.065	(2)	.000	(0)	.000	(0)	.000	(0)
21-23	.000	(0)	.000	(0)	.250	(5)	.500	(9)	.269	(12)	.424	(14)	.750	(3)	.400	(2)
24+	1.000	(8)	1.000	(1)	.750	(15)	.500	(9)	.674	(31)	.576	(19)	.250	(1)	.600	(3)
missing			Black = 6						White = 6						N = 147	

0063

LOA's and 67% of those aspiring to high-medium LOA's. It is interesting to note that those black women aspiring to the highest LOA's indicated plans for marriage between the ages of 21 and 23.[3]

White Women. Between 1966 and 1968, it appears that regardless of the anticipated LOA of the respondent, the majority of the white women tended to plan marriage for the ages between 21 and 23 (See Table 5, p. 52). Thus, 75% of the respondents in the low range LOA category planned marriages between 21 and 23, 33% in the low-medium range LOA category planned to marry between 21 and 23, as did 73% of the women in the high-medium LOA range, and 71% in the high LOA range.

Between the 1968 and 1972 interviews, this pattern shifted to the 24 years old or later planned age at marriage category for all LOA groupings. Therefore, 100% of the respondents in the low LOA category indicate marital plans at 24 or older, as do 75% of the white women in the low-medium LOA category, 58% in the high-medium category, and 60% in the upper category.

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[3]However, the N of this grouping is quite small and the statistic may therefore be deceptive.

The Relationship Between Marital Plans and Level of Educational Aspirations.

Black Women. Between 1966 and 1968, the relationship between marital plans and LEA of black women appears to indicate that an early age at marriage corresponds to a low level of educational aspirations; likewise, delayed marital plans correspond to higher levels of educational aspirations. This is shown in Table 6. Of the respondents indicating a desire for early marriages between the ages of 18 and 20, 50% also revealed LEA's for high school graduation or less education. Also, 55% of the women planning to marry between 21 and 23 indicated LEA's for graduation from a technical school or a junior college, and 67% of these desiring marriages at age 24 or after aspired to college graduation through post-graduate studies.

Between Wave II and Wave III, the relationship between these variables changes considerably. Of these women still aspiring to early marriages, 62% indicated they desired to graduate from technical school or junior college; however, 68% of the women planning to marry between 21 and 23 aspired to graduation from college through post-graduate studies. Thus, there is a general tendency to raise LEA's among single black women over

time.

White Women. Between the sophomore and senior interviews, there appears to be a general tendency for age at marriage and LEA to correspond directly for single white women; however, this is less clear than for single black women as cited previously (See Table 6). Among those single white women planning to marry before 20 years of age, 64% desired graduation from technical school or junior college; 50% of those planning marriages between 21 and 23 aspired to college graduation or higher education; and 58% of the women planning to marry at age 24 or older also indicated that they desired college graduation or more education.

Between the Wave II and Wave III interviews, the white women displayed the same pattern as during the 1966 and 1968 interviews. Thus, 46% of the women planning to marry before age 20 again indicated a desire for graduation from a technical school or junior college, and 69% of the women planning to marry between 21 and 23 aspired to college graduation through post-graduate studies, as did 88% of the women planning to marry at 24 or older.

The Relationship Between the Level of Educational Aspirations and Marital Plans.

Black Women. Between 1966 and 1968, there was no

Table 6. Bivariate Analysis of the Longitudinal Relationship Between Marital Plans and Level of Educational Aspirations of Women by Race

	MP66											
	18-20				21-23				24+			
LEA68	Black		White		Black		White		Black		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
0.0 - 2.0	50	(6)	7	(1)	3	(1)	6	(2)	00	(0)	8	(1)
2.1 - 4.0	42	(5)	64	(9)	55	(16)	44	(16)	33	(12)	33	(4)
4.1 - 6.0	8	(1)	29	(4)	41	(12)	50	(18)	67	(24	58	(7)
missing			Black = 7				White = 1				N = 147	

	MP68											
	18-20				21-23				24+			
	Black		White		Black		White		Black		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
0.0 - 2.0	8	(1)	15	(2)	00	(0)	00	(0)	00	(0)	00	(0)
2.1 - 4.0	62	(8)	46	(6)	31	(10)	31	(12)	32	(10)	12	(1)
4.1 - 6.0	31	(4)	38	(5)	69	(22)	69	(27)	68	(21)	88	(7)
missing			Black = 8				White = 3				N = 147	

clearly discernible relationship between the level of educational aspirations and marital plans of black women. This is shown in Table 7. In the LEA category of high school graduation or less schooling, 100% indicated they planned to marry early between the ages of 18 and 20. In the LEA category indicating desire for graduation from a technical school or junior college, 44% of the women planned to marry at age 24 or older. And finally, 45% of those with high LEA's desiring at least college graduation planned to marry between 21 and 23.

A very different, clearly discernible pattern is evidenced between 1968 and 1972; it is evident that the women consistently planned to marry at age 24 or older regardless of LEA. Among those women desiring only high school graduation or less schooling, 60% of the respondents planned late marriages, as did 79% of the respondents desiring graduation from a technical school or junior college, and 65% of the women aspiring to graduation from college or post-graduate studies. Once again, this upward shift to a later planned age at marriage is occurring simultaneously as the girls approached an average 22 years of age. Therefore, the categories younger than 22 no longer were practicably applicable to them.

White Women. Between the sophomore and senior interviews, white women indicated marital plans between 21

Table 7. Bivariate Analysis of the Longitudinal Relationship Between Level of Educational Aspirations and Marital Plans of Women by Race

LEA66

MP68	0.0 - 2.0				2.1 - 4.0				4.1 - 6.0			
	Black		White		Black		White		Black		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
18-20	100	(1)	13	(1)	14	(5)	33	(9)	16	(6)	12	(3)
21-23	0	(0)	88	(7)	42	(15)	44	(12)	45	(17)	80	(20)
24+	0	(0)	0	(0)	44	(16)	22	(6)	40	(15)	8	(2)
missing	Black = 8				White = 3				N = 147			

LEA68

MP72	0.0 - 2.0				2.1 - 4.0				4.1 - 6.0			
	Black		White		Black		White		Black		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
18-20	0	(0)	0	(0)	03	(1)	0	(0)	05	(2)	0	(0)
21-23	40	(2)	0	(0)	18	(6)	48	(12)	45	(17)	56	(20)
24+	60	(3)	100	(3)	79	(27)	52	(13)	65	(26)	44	(16)
missing	Black = 5				White = 6				N = 147			

6900

and 23 for all LEA categories (See Table 7, p. 58). Among those women desiring only graduation from high school or less education, 88% of the women planned marriages between the ages of 21 and 23; 44% of those desiring graduation from a technical school or a junior college planned to marry between those ages, and 80% of those women aspiring to higher educational levels (college graduation through post-graduate studies) planned marriages during those particular years.

Similar to the pattern established for black women for the 1968 to 1972 period, 100% of the women desiring only high school graduation or less education planned late marriages at age 24 or later as did 52% of the women desiring graduation from a technical or junior college. However, 44% of the women desiring college graduation or more education still planned to marry between the ages of 21 and 23. The general delay in marital plans to the 24 or older category may once again reflect the women's own increasing age and continued single status.

Multivariate Analysis Between Each Attitudinal Measure

Marital Plans and Level of Occupational Attitudes.

Correlation Coefficients and Means. The mean levels for

marital plans and the level of occupational attitudes at the three waves are presented in the margins of Table 8. The average planned age at marriage for white sophomores was 22.5 years, 22 for seniors, and four years after graduation was 24 years of age. Black marital plans were higher slightly than those of whites, 23.5 at the sophomore level, 23 at the senior level, and 24 at the post-graduate level. Mean levels of occupational attitudes for whites were about 59 at the sophomore level, 57.5 at the senior level, and 58 at the post-graduate level. Black mean levels of occupational attitudes were somewhat lower: the sophomore LEA mean was approximately 52, the senior mean 53, and the post-graduate average dropped to 51.

An examination of the correlation coefficients between marital plans and LOA (Table 8) revealed several patterns. First, eight of the 15 correlation coefficients were of sufficient magnitude to indicate statistical significance at the .05 level. Second, the stability correlations (those correlations between repeated measures of the same variable) were found to have the strongest association: the correlation between sophomore and senior marital plans was .37, and the correlation between the senior and post-graduate period was .38; the correlation between sophomore and senior level of occupational

Table 8. Matrix of Zero-Order Correlations and Means for Marital Plans and Level of Occupational Aspirations (Black females above diagonal[a], whites below)

	MP66	LOA66	MP68	LOA68	MP72	LOA72	Means
MP66	1.00	.19	.44	.23	-.06	.25	23.46
	.00	.29	.01	.04	.61	.03	
LOA66	.14	1.00	.11	.46	-.18	.29	53.77
	.28	.00	.67	.00	.12	.01	
MP68	.37	.01	1.00	.05	.07	.06	22.91
	.01	.95	.00	.69	.54	.60	
LOA68	.28	.58	.18	1.00	-.06	.35	53.67
	.03	.01	.16	.00	.61	.01	
MP72	.27	.38	.38	-.08	1.00	-.27	24.05
	.04	.01	.01	.59	.00	.02	
LOA72	.18	.43	.20	.53	.11	1.00	53.24
	.16	.01	.12	.01	.59	.00	
Means	22.44	59.08	21.98	58.62	23.64	57.41	

[a]It will be noted that sets of figures are shown in each category. The top figure indicates the correlation coefficient, and the bottom figure indicates the level of significance. Probability is calculated such that P ($|\hat{\rho}| > .18$) = .16.

00720

attitudes is .58, and the corresponding correlation between the senior and post-graduate period was .53. Third, the correlation between marital plans and level of occupational attitudes at the sophomore wave was .14, at the senior wave was .18 and of the post-graduate level was .11. These correlations are suggestive of a slightly increasing relationship between the variables during high school. Finally, the cross-lagged correlation between sophomore marital plans and senior level of occupational attitudes is .28, much larger than the -.01 correlation between the sophomore level of occupational aspirations and the senior level of marital plans. Furthermore, the cross-lagged correlation between senior marital plans and post-graduate level of occupational attitudes is .20, and the correlation between senior level of occupational attidues and post-graduate marital plans is -.08. However, neither cross-lag in the post-graduate period is of sufficient magnitude to indicate statistical significance at the .05 level.

An examination of the correlation coefficients for black females (Table 8, p. 61) revealed somewhat different patterns. First, seven of the 15 correlation coefficients were of sufficient magnitude to indivate statistical significance at the .05 level, similar to the white pattern. However, the stability coefficients prove

to be somewhat different: the correlation between sophomore marital plans and senior marital plans is .44, but the correlation between senior and post-graduate marital plans is only .07; in addition, the correlation between sophomore and senior level of occupational attitudes is .46, and between senior and post-graduate level of occupational attitudes is .35. Therefore, it appears that while the LOA among black females is stable between the three waves, marital plans for black females are only stable during high school, changing sharply in the post-graduate years. Third, the correlation between marital plans and level of occupational attitudes at the sophomore level is .19, at the senior level is .05, and at the post-graduate level is -.27. Combined with the decreasing stability of marital plans over time, these correlations are suggestive of a decreasing relationship between the variables over time. Fourthly, the cross-lagged correlation between sophomore LOA and senior marital plans is .11. Also, the cross-lagged correlation between senior marital plans and post-graduate level of occupational attitudes is .06, and the cross-lagged correlation between senior level of occupational attitudes and post-graduate marital plans is -.06: like the white females neither of these post-graduate cross-lags is significant at the .05 level.

Therefore, when the configurations of correlations for black and white females were compared, sets of similarities and differences emerged. Among the differences, it is found that stability correlations are significant for both variables and all waves for whites, whereas for blacks the level of occupational attidues is likewise highly stable at both waves, but their marital plans are only significant during the sophomore to senior wave. The main similarities are: (1) the similar degree of interrelatedness of variables for blacks and whites; and (2) there appears to be a "causal priority" of marital plans over the level of occupational attitudes for both subsets during the high school period, with no relationship between the variables after high school graduation.

The Three Wave, Two Variable Model. The three wave, two variables (3W-2V) path-panel model for the white females appears as Figure 5. Analysis indicates that approximately 15%[4] of the variation in senior year marital plans and 38%[5] of the variation in senior level

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[4]This correlation has been calculated by the formula $1 - \sqrt{r^2}$.

[5]This correlation has been calculated by the formula $r = \sum_{i=1}^{n} \frac{(xi - \bar{x})(yi - \bar{y})}{ns_x s_y}$

of occupational attitudes could be "explained" by the combined influence of the sophomore levels of the two variables; likewise, approximately 14% of the variation in post-graduate marital plans and 37% of the variation in post-graduate level of occupational attitudes could be "explained" by the combined influence of the senior levels of the two variables. These estimates represent estimates of disturbance for the senior year marital plans and the level of occupational attitudes respectively of .92 and .78, and .93 for the post-graduate marital plans and .80 for the post-graduate level of occupational attitudes.

The coefficients reported along the primary paths are standardized path coefficients above the arrows and unstandardized path coefficients in parentheses below the arrows.[6] No path in the white 3W-2V model other than

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[6]Path coefficients along primary paths have been calculated by the following regression solutions:

Heise formulae

$$p_{32} = \frac{p_{13} - p_{12}\,p_{23}}{1 - p^2_{12}} \qquad p_{42} = \frac{p_{24} - p_{12}\,p_{14}}{1 - p^2_{12}}$$

$$p_{32} = \frac{p_{23} - p_{12}\,p_{13}}{1 - p^2_{12}} \qquad p_{53} = \frac{p_{35} - p_{34}\,p_{54}}{1 - p^2_{34}}$$

$$p_{41} = \frac{p_{14} - p_{12}\,p_{24}}{1 - p^2_{12}} \qquad p_{54} = \frac{p_{45} - p_{34}\,p_{35}}{1 - p^2_{34}}$$

stability paths was found to be at least twice its standard error and was considered of sufficient magnitude to indicate effect. As had been the pattern in the correlation matrix, the stability of both marital plans and level of occupational attitudes were moderate to strong during the periods. The stability paths for marital plans were estimated to be .39 between the sophomore and senior waves, and the paths between the sophomore and senior levels of occupational attitudes is .55, and between senior and post-graduate levels of occupational attitudes is .57. An examination of the cross-lagged paths reveals no significant paths in the model.

The same 3W-2V model for black females appears as Figure 6. The amount of explained variation was smaller than for white females. In contrast, 20% of the variation in senior marital plans and 27% of the variation in senior level of occupational attitudes was explained by prior sophomore levels of the same variable, and 4% of the variation in post-graduate marital plans and 12% in

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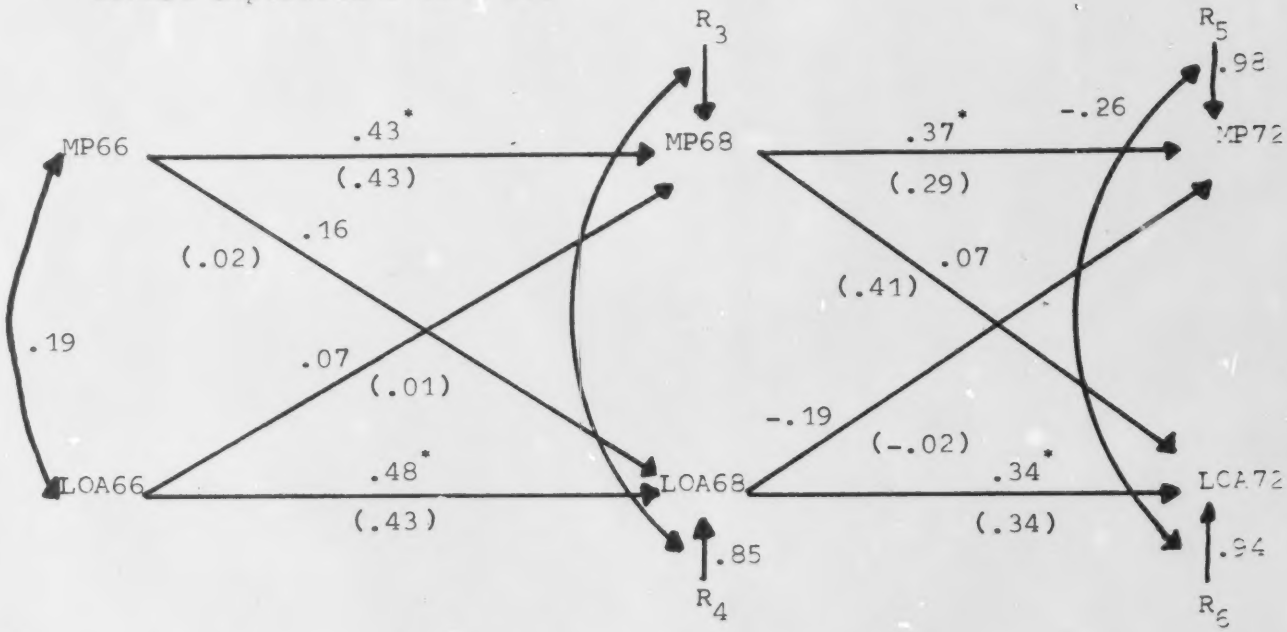
$$p_{63} = \frac{p_{36} - p_{34}\, p_{46}}{1 - p^2_{34}}$$

$$p_{64} = \frac{p_{46} - p_{34}\, p_{31}}{1 - p^2_{34}}$$

Figure 6. Black female 3W-2V model relating marital plans and level of occupational aspirations (N = 67)[a]



[a]The coefficients reported along the primary paths are standarized path coefficients above the arrows and unstandardized path coefficients in parentheses below the arrows; asterisks indicate that the significant correlation is at least twice its standard error.

8780

post-graduate level of occupational attitudes was explained by the senior levels of the same variable. These estimates represent the coefficient of alienation for the senior year marital plans and the level of occupational attitudes respectively of .89 and .85, and .98 for post-graduate level marital plans and .94 for the post-graduate level of occupational attitudes.

Only three of the paths in the black 3W-2V model were found to be at least twice their standardized error and were considered of sufficient magnitude to indicate effect. The stability paths for the level of occupational attitudes were moderate to strong during these periods (.49 and .34, respectively), but the stability of marital plans dropped sharply in the post-graduate period (.43 and .09, respectively). The cross-lagged paths revealed a somewhat different pattern for blacks than for whites. None of the four cross-lags were found to be of sufficient strength to indicate effect. Thus, for our black data, it would appear that no causal relationship exists between marital plans and the level of occupational attitudes.

Marital Plans and Level of Educational Attitudes.

Correlation Coefficients and Means. The mean levels for marital plans and the level of educational attitudes at the three waves are presented in the margins of Table 9.

Table 9. Matrix of Zero-Order Correlations and Means for Marital Plans and Level of Educational Aspirations (Black females above diagonal[a], whites below)

	MP66	LOA66	MP68	LOA68	MP72	LOA72	Means
MP66	1.00	.17	.44	.41	-.062	.30	23.40
	.00	.13	.01	.01	.61	.01	
LEA66	.12	1.00	.22	.57	-.22	.43	4.19
	.63	.00	.85	.01	.05	.01	
MP68	.37	.05	1.00	.22	.07	.16	22.86
	.01	.69	.00	.05	.54	.17	
LEA68	.14	.71	.18	1.00	-.22	.49	4.26
	.28	.01	.16	.00	.04	.01	
MP72	.27	-.02	.38	-.08	1.00	-.21	24.04
	.04	.91	.01	.59	.00	.06	
LEA72	.14	.47	.28	.73	.11	1.00	4.60
	.28	.01	.03	.01	.59	.00	
Means	22.44	3.92	21.98	4.24	23.65	4.68	

[a]It will be noted that sets of figures are shown in each category. The top figure indicates the correlation coefficient and the bottom figure indicates the level of significance. Probability is calculated such that $P(|\hat{p}| > .18) = .16$.

0080

The average planned age at marriage for white sophomores was approximately 22.5, 22 for seniors, and 23 years of age four years after high school graduation. Black marital plans revealed an average planned age at marriage of 23.4 for sophomores, approximately 23 for seniors, and approximately 24 years of age at the post-graduate level. Mean levels of educational attitudes for whites and blacks were approximately 4 at sophomore and senior levels, and approximately 5 at the post-graduate level.

An examination of the correlation coefficients for white females (Table 9, p. 70) reveals several patterns. First of all, seven of the 15 coefficients were of significant magnitude to indicate statistical significance at the .05 level. Secondly, the stability correlations were found to have the strongest associations: the correlation between sophomore and senior marital plans is .37, and between the senior and post-graduate waves is .38; in contrast, the correlation between sophomore and senior level of educational attitudes is .71, and between the senior and post-graduate periods is .73. Third, the correlation between marital plans and level of educational attitudes at the sophomore levels is .12, at the senior level is .18, and at the post-graduate level is .11. These correlations, like those between marital plans and the level of occupational attitudes, suggest a slightly

increasing relationship between the variables at the sophomore and senior waves, with a similar decrease between senior and post-graduate waves. Finally, the cross-lagged correlation coefficients between sophomore marital plans and senior level of educational attitudes is .14, while the cross-lag between sophomore level of educational attitudes and senior marital plans is .05; however, neither cross-lag is significant at the .05 level. The cross-lagged correlation between senior marital plans and the post-graduate level of educational attitudes is .28, approximately five times larger than the -.08 correlation between senior level of educational attitudes and the post-graduate marital plans.

The correlation coefficients for black females again reveals somewhat different patterns. First of all, nine of the 15 correlation coefficients were of sufficient magnitude to indicate statistical significance at the .05 level, once again similar to the white pattern. Stability paths are again different from white patterns. Marital plans are stable between sophomore and senior waves (.44), but drop sharply in stability between senior and post-graduate waves (.07). In contrast, the stability of the level of educational attitudes appears to be strong: the stability coefficient between sophomore and senior waves is .57, and between senior and post-graduate waves is .49.

Therefore, it appears the LEA for blacks, like LOA, is stable between waves, although marital plans appear to only be stable prior to high school graduation. Thirdly, the correlation between marital plans and the level of educational attitudes at the sophomore level is .17, at the senior level is .22, and at the post-graduate level is -.21. This appears to further support the idea that the correlation between the variables changes sharply after high school graduation for black females. Finally, the cross-lagged correlations between sophomore marital plans and the level of educational attitudes is .41, approximately twice as large as the correlation between sophomore level of educational attitudes of .22. Furthermore, the cross-lagged correlation of .16 between senior marital plans and the post-graduate level of educational attitudes is not significant, whereas the cross-lag between senior level of educational attitudes and post-graduate marital plans is -.22, and significant.

Thus, when the configurations of correlations for black and white females were compared, various similarities and differences emerged. Among the similarities, it is revealed that: (1) both blacks and whites show strong stabilities between waves for the level of educational attitudes variable; and (2) there is a similar degree of interrelatedness between variables for blacks and whites.

The main differences are: (1) whites appear to have more stable marital plans than do blacks, especially in the post-high school period; and (2) the cross-lags differ considerably with blacks showing a priority of marital plans over level of educational attitudes between sophomore and senior waves, and a strong negative causal priority of senior level of educational attitudes and post-graduate marital plans, whereas whites show no causal relationship between sophomore and senior waves, but marital plans have causal priority over the level of educational attitudes between the senior and post-graduate waves.

The Three Wave, Two Variable Model. The three wave, two variable model for white females appears as Figure 7. The analysis indicates that approximately 14%[7] of the variation in senior year marital plans and 58%[8] of the variation in senior level of educational attitudes could be "explained" by the combined influence of the sophomore levels of the two variables; in addition, approximately

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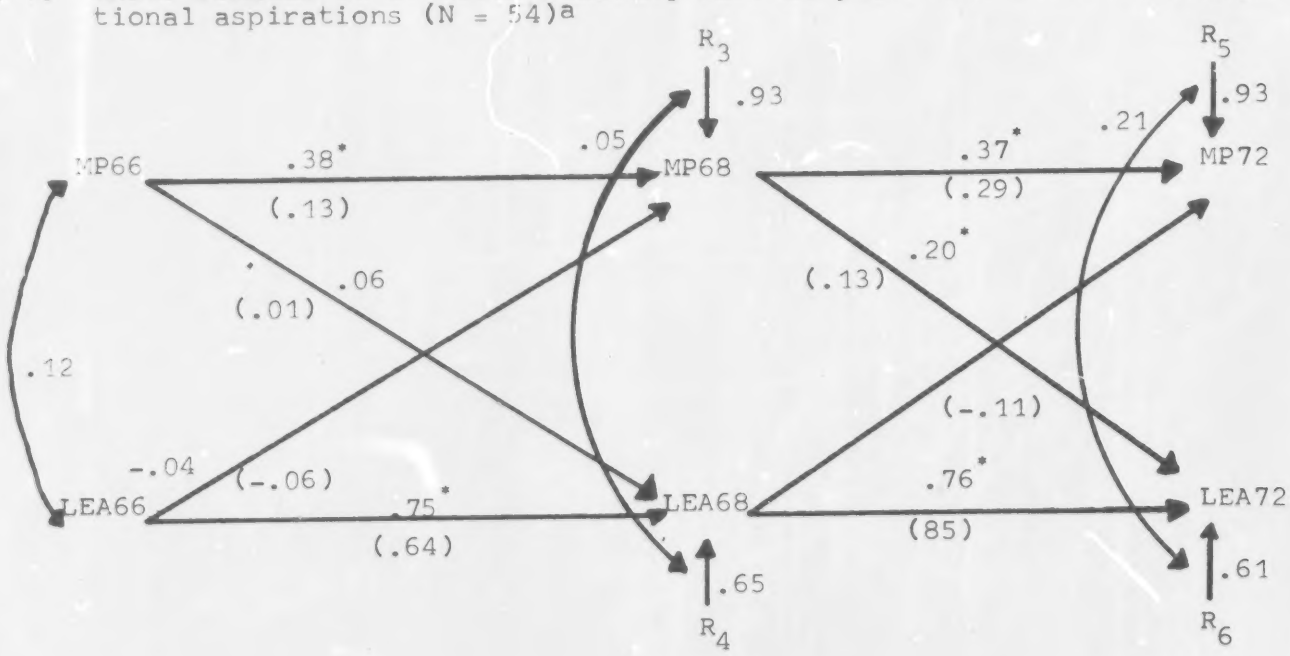
[7]This correlation has been calculated by the formula $1 - \sqrt{r^2}$.

[8]This correlation has been calculated by the formula

$$r = \sum_{i=1}^{n} \frac{(xi - \bar{x})(yi - \bar{y})}{ns_x s_y}$$

Figure 7. White females 3W-2V model relating marital plans and level of educational aspirations (N = 54)[a]



[a]The coefficients reported along the primary paths are standardized path coefficients above the arrows and unstandardized path coefficients in parentheses below the arrows; asterisks indicate that the significant correlation is at least twice its standard error.

14% of the variation in post-graduate marital plans and 63% of the variation in the post-graduate level of educational attitudes could be "explained" by the combined influence of the senior levels of the two variables. These estimates represent paths of the disturbance term for the senior year marital plans and level of educational attitudes respectively of .93 and .65, and .93 for the post-graduate marital plans and .61 for the post-graduate level of occupational attitudes.

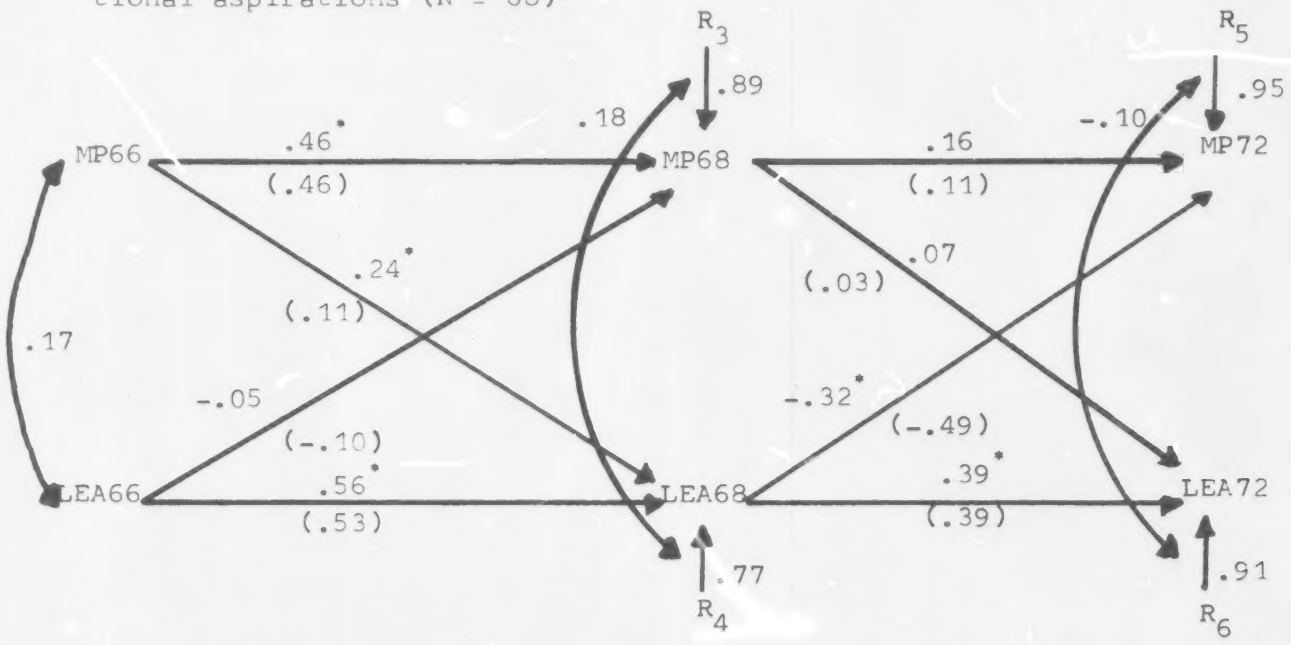
The coefficients reported along the primary paths are once again standardized path coefficients above the arrows and unstandardized path coefficients in parentheses below the arrows. Only one path in the 3W-2V model other than the stability paths was found to be at least twice its standard error and was considered of sufficient magnitude to indicate effect. As had been the pattern in the correlation matrix, the stability of both marital plans and the level of educational attitudes were moderate to strong during the periods. The stability paths for marital plans were estimated to be .38 between sophomore and senior waves and .37 between senior and post-graduate waves. The stability paths for the levels of educational attitudes were estimated to be .75 between sophomore and senior years and .76 between senior and post-graduate years. An examination of the cross-lags

reveals only one significant path in the model; the path from senior marital plans to the post-graduate level of educational attitudes is .20. This pattern among the cross-lagged correlations shows no causal relationship between the variables during the high school period, and a priority of marital plans over the level of educational attitudes during the post-graduate period, thus supporting Explanation 1 for that period.

The same 3W-2V model for black females appears as Figure 8. The amount of explained variation was smaller than for white females. Also, 21% of the variation in senior marital plans and 41% of the variation in senior level educational attitudes was explained by the prior sophomore levels of the same variable, and 10% of the variation in post-graduate marital plans and 17% in the level of educational attitudes was "explained" by the senior levels of the same variable. These estimates represent paths of the disturbance term for the senior year marital plans and the level of educational attitudes respectively of .89 and .77, and .95 for the post-graduate marital plans and .91 for the post-graduate level of educational attitudes.

All but three of the paths in the black 3W-2V model are found to be at least twice their standard error and were considered of sufficient magnitude to indicate

Figure 8. Black females 3W-2V model relating marital plans and level of educational aspirations (N = 68)[a]



[a]The coefficients reported along the primary paths are standardized path coefficients above the arrows and unstandardized path coefficients in parentheses below the arrows; asterisks indicate that the significant correlation is at least twice its standard error.

effect. Again like the pattern for the correlation coefficients, the level of educational attitudes stability paths were moderate to strong during these periods (.56 and .39, respectively), although the stability of marital plans dropped sharply in the post-graduate period (.46 and .16, respectively). Once again, the cross-lagged paths revealed different patterns for the blacks than for whites. During the high school period, there is a priority of marital plans over the level of educational attidues, once again supporting Explanation 1. However, during the post-graduate period there appears to be a reversal of priorities; analysis of the model reveals a strong negative correlation from the level of educational attitudes to marital plans during this period.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The summary and conclusions will be organized into three main parts. The first section deals with the major discernable descriptive trends in the data; the second concerns the conclusions based upon the analysis of the form of marital plans and the mobility attitudes; and the third will discuss the major limitations of the study.

Descriptive Trends

The Maintenance of High Mobility Attitudes. There was a general trend for the maintenance of high level mobility attitudes for each racial groupings. Both black and whites indicated a desire for the attainment of medium or high range levels of educational aspirations; in other words, the majority of the respondents aspired to attending college in some form. In fact, a tendency was evidenced over time to maintain aspirations, or to raise them. Similarly, there was a tendency to select high levels of occupational aspirations for both races.

It may be recalled that the concept of "increasing realism of choice" is implicit in Ginzberg's treatise

on the development of occupational choice among males (1951). Ginzberg utilizes the hypothesis of increasing realism of choice to explain change from early fantasy choices (the goal-centered choices of pre- and early adolescence and young adulthood). Similar theoretic1 formulations have been developed by Super (1953), Blau et al. (1956), Tiedeman (1961), and Kuvlesky (1970). Many of the developmental concepts treat "choice dynamics as a function of social and social-psychological maturation structured in successive stages" (Cosby, 1974). Therefore, the nature of choices is believed to vary with the stages of development. More specifically, Ginzberg's model explicates the fantasy (preadolescence), the tentative (adolescence), and the realistic stages (late adolescence), and the realistic stages (late adolescence and early adulthood); consequently, the hypothesis of increasing realism of choice can be inferred.

It has been recounted that for this panel of southern, nonmetropolitan women, both racial groupings desired medium to high range levels of educational and occupational aspirations at all three waves. These choices were consistent as the women progressed through Ginzberg's tentative stage and entered the realistic stage; in fact, the primary deviation from the observed pattern was a tendency to raise both LOA and LEA over time.

These findings do not generally support the hypothesis of increasing realism of choice within the limitations of the data set.

In analyzing this observation, several aspects of the data set are brought to mind.[1] First of all, in 1966 well over 50% of the women maintained medium to high level occupational aspirations, as did the majority of women who selected medium to high LEA's as well. These choices did, of course, leave ample opportunity for downward, presumably realistic changes in levels of aspirations during subsequent waves. However, these anticipated "realistic" changes did not occur as the women grew older. Secondly, the majority of the panel (southern, nonmetropolitan youth) were from low-income counties; this population is generally considered to have special problems in occupational attainment. When the conditions of high levels of aspirations are combined with low income and rural origins, the conclusion of no aggregate change toward a so-called realistic choice further reinforces the finding that the hypothesis is not applicable to this data set.

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[1]Similar findings have recently been reported for a panel of southern, nonmetropolitan males. See Arthur G. Cosby, "Occupational expectations and the hypothesis of increasing realism of choice," Journal of Vocational Behavior (August, 1974).

Trends in Marriage Plans. There was a tendency demonstrated by the women in this panel to group their planned age at marriage in the 21 to 23 year old range. This pattern occurs at all waves, and held true for both races.

There was a noticeable and not too surprising trend for women to raise their planned age at marriage as they grew older and remained single. However, there appeared to be some racial differences concerning this pattern. The black women in the panel more readily shifted their planned age at marriage upward; the white women maintained marital plans in the 21 to 23 year old range (even though the women were approaching the upper limit of that range in age by the 1972 Wave III interview). Whites appear to be more reluctant to adjust away from the 21 to 23 year old range, even though it is becoming "unrealistic" to maintain such marital plans. One post factum interpretation of this observed trend might be in terms of the hypothesis of differential priorities of black and white women. The institution of marriage may be less vital to the black woman who is seeking a career than for a white woman in a similar situation. This supports the earlier hypothesis of Epstein (1973).

Epstein has suggested that women's sexual status has prevented them from obtaining prestigious, well-salaried

positions because American society does not value women highly either in potential or capacity (1973). Consequently, successful career women must be more intelligent, talented, and specialized than white males in a comparable labor pool. Thus, women competing with males for careers have "sacrificed" more for the benefits generally afforded to males, if indeed the women were permitted to obtain them at all (Epstein, 1973). The negative effects of such stiff competition combine with generalized occupational sex-typing to further discourage women from entering into the career market. Such traditional sex-typing encourages men to accept only "masculine" occupations, and compels women to accept occupations considered "feminine" (Cubbles, 1973). It may further be recalled that white women may be encouraged to fulfill their occupational goals vicariously by her husband and his employer, who maintain that career participation by the wife would damage the husband's social and hence occupational status (Papanek, 1973). In contrast, Epstein (1973) has hypothesized that black females expect to utilize their education professionally; furthermore, the black professional women interviewed by Epstein showed significantly low degrees of interest in early marriage. In fact, Epstein's study of black professional women indicated that such women tended to minimize the importance of marriage at

all, stressing instead the importance of their careers. Many black professional women indicate reluctance to marry men with less education or lower social status than themselves; they realize that such reluctance greatly limits their opportunities for marriage. Thus, it might be concluded that among those black women successful at attaining their desired LOA's and LEA's, the desire for such attainment and the general high degree of personal sacrifice involved in that attainment process tend to relegate marriage to the position of an unimportant or undesirable goal. An early marriage might well signify the termination of the highly desired occupational success to which the black woman aspires; consequently, marriage is considered a bad risk (Epstein, 1973).

While the present panel deals with black women aspiring to professional and non-professional careers (as well as whites aspiring to both career categories), the blacks involved in this study may be placing a lower priority on marital plans than LOA or LEA, as the black professionals of Epstein's study place lower priority on marriage than occupational plans. Thus, it follows that if black women place lower priority on marital plans, they would be more flexible on realigning planned age at marriage as the need arose than would white women.

Marital Plans and Mobility Attitudes. There appears to be some congruency[2] for both racial groups to select LEA's and LOA's of similar rankings; furthermore, there was a tendency among those women indicating high LEA's and expressing a desire for college attendance to also desire fairly high LOA's. In addition, there appeared to be a tendency for both races to select marital plans and levels of educational aspirations of similar rankings. In other words, a woman indicating an early planned age at marriage tended to likewise indicate a low LEA; women indicating high LEA's tended to also plan late marriages. Finally, women desiring high marital plans likewise tended to desire high levels of occupational aspirations.

There are two additional notes of interest. First of all, marital plans and LEA's were fairly congruent whether both were high or low. However, marital plans and LOA's were congruent only in regard to high levels of these variables. Low marital plans were not congruent with low LOA's. Thus, it would appear that the pattern of congruency between variables was not as strong for LOA as for LEA or marital plans. Secondly, substantial numbers of the responses were not congruent. Consequently, the

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[2]Congruency may be defined as a state of agreement or correspondence between the variables.

discussion of such congruencies must recall the actual value of the response patterns.

The Form of Marital Plans and Mobility Attitudes

The objectives of the modeling portion of this thesis were to investigate the degree and form of the relationship between adolescents' marital plans and educational expectations and the stability of those variables. Based on prior research and logical extension of results, it was apparent that the form of the relationship was undetermined and perhaps confused in research literature. The problems with the two Bayer studies highlight the problems in this area. At least four plausible explanations could account for the current reported relationships: (1) a priority of marital plans; (2) a priority of level of educational aspirations or level of occupational aspirations; (3) mutual dependency or reciprocal effects between the two variables; and (4) spurious effects resulting from the influences of another variable or variables. The research strategy employed was to utilize repeated measurement panel data with path analytic techniques as a partial solution.

Stability of the Variables. Stability correlations are generally stable for both races. However, the attitudes of white women appeared to be more stable than

those of black women. Secondly, mobility attitudes were generally more stable than marital plans for both blacks and whites. A basic rank ordering of stability would be: the level of educational aspirations is the most stable variable, level of occupational aspirations second most stable, and marital plans would be last.

The only major deviation from this general pattern was with respect to the marital plans of the black girls in the period after high school. These later marital plans (from 1968 to 1972) of the black women were highly unstable; in fact, these were the only stability coefficients calculated that were considered insignificant. Alpha levels were high for all other cases. A low priority of marital plans may be indicated in this low stability coefficient because it is highly unstable; the marital plans of the black girls during high school were not reflective of their subsequent adult choices. In contrast, the reported planned ages at marriage of white girls from the high school interviews are highly reflective of their later adult choices. These black women, still remaining single and growing older, are readjusting their planned ages at marriage. Such upward readjustment in planned age of marriage with no readjustment in the levels of aspirations creates incongruencies in levels of change between these variables for the black women.

Marital Plans and LOA. Using LOA as an indicator of mobility-linked attitudes, there was no causal relationship between marital plans and LOA for either racial grouping. This suggests that a third variable could be causing the effects of both LOA and marital plans.

Marital Plans and LEA. There appear to be some cross-lagged effects between the variables marital plans and level of educational aspirations. For white females, cross-lagged effects appear after high school (between 1968 and 1972) with a priority of 1968 marital plans over 1972 LEA's. In contrast, cross-lagged effects appear for black females in both the high school period (1966 to 1968) and in the period following high school (1968 to 1972). During high school, the black females evidenced a priority of 1966 marital plans over 1968 LEA's. However, after high school, this pattern was reversed when a priority of 1968 LEA's over 1972 marital plans was demonstrated. It is interesting to note that this priority of 1968 LEA's over 1972 marital plans is expressed by a negative correlation (-.32). In other words, high LOA in 1968 was correlated with a low planned age at marriage in 1972. This is indeed a very difficult coefficient to explain; in fact, there is no readily available interpretation for this coefficient. It simply does not fit into the scheme of the rest of this thesis. This may suggest

a change in the ambitions of these women over time such that importance of education diminishes and value of marriage increases. However, it might also merely reflect the small panel size and be an artifact of that factor.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this data. First of all, educational attitudes may be developed within a shorter range of the frame of time reference. Thus, these attitudes may be more immediate for most women than are occupational aspirations. In other words, it would appear that women may take their marital plans and levels of educational aspirations into account together more than marital plans and levels of occupational aspirations. One simplistic explanation of this is that obtention of a career is more distant to most young women than are either marriage or completion of education.

Secondly, it would appear that variable priorities are developed both by stage of development and racial grouping. Thus, whites evidence no variable priorities during high school years, and a priority of marital plans over LEA's after high school. In contrast, black women show a priority of marital plans over LEA's during high school, with a reversal of priorities in the period thereafter. There appears to be a sex-race specificity of the variables in these models. Therefore, instead of simply stating that one specific explanation (as discussed

previously) fits these models, the explanations must be considered viewing the specific race, sex, and developmental stage of the respondents.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

The limitations of this research primarily concern the nature and size of the panel and potential measurement error. While there are, of course, many other limitations and suggestions for future research, it may be concluded that primary areas of attention should be an improvement of measurement and broadening the data base itself.

Nature and Size of the Panel. It may be recalled that this panel is characterized by nonmetropolitan, predominantly lower class Southern women. Analysis has suggested race specificity between marital plans and LEA; therefore, a more complete specification of the relationship between these variables would involve differing racial groups and socioeconomic classes across the country. Finally, the panel is modest in size; thus, it lacks precision in the estimation of coefficients that would be possible with a large sample size. Therefore, a larger panel would perhaps yield more reliable results. Furthermore, it is difficult to generalize due to the non-random nature of the panel. Future research should utilize a

large nationwide random sample involving a variety of classes and racial categories.

Potential Measurement Error. In measuring attitudes, the possibility of measurement error is always large. First of all, if measurement errors are large and random, the resultant relationships are probably underestimated. And secondly, possible measurement error in this study could have originated from the complexities of developmental stage, racial group, and socioeconomic class. Therefore, it is feasible that measurement error could be differentially distributed between these areas. This differential distribution could account for some of the effects previously observed. Solutions to this problem await further research involvement, refinement of the instrument, and determination of the nature and degree of the error involved.

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